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TO THE MOST VER-
tuous, and famous young Prince,
HENRIE FREDERICK, Prince of Wales,
Knights of the most noble order of the Garter: Grace from
God the Father, and all manner of happines and
blessings externall, internall, and eternall,
through Christ Iesus.

8 M^{USEUM} 12



Phillip the King of Macedonia imme-
diatly after the birth of his sonne Alex-
ander, is saide to haue written vnto that
most famous Philosopher Aristotle af-
ter this manner: *Philippus Aristoteli sa-
lutem dicit. Filium mihi genitum scito,
quamobrem dijs habeo gratiam, non per-
inde quia natus est, quàm pro eo quod nasci contigit temporibus
vita tuae spero enim fore, ut educatus eruditusq. abs te, dignus
existat & nobis, & rerum istarum successione, &c.* But I may
write vnto you (O most worthie young Prince) Deo Opt.
Max. gratias habeto maximas, non perinde quia natus es prin-
ceps, quàm pro ea, quod à tanto Rege, talisq. patre divina benig-
nitate genitum esse contigit, qui & potuit, & voluit, te suo ipsius
curebro, suo ipsius calamo, suo ipsius labore, cura & diligentia
ita formare & erudire, ut & illo patre, & regnorum suorum

The Epistle.

successione dignus existas. Plato likewise is said to have left it written that the Kings of Persia with great care and diligence, sought forth foure manner of teachers to instruct such their children, as they hoped should succcede them in their kingdomes: first the truest that might be found, which did euer teach them that truth in a king was alwaies most chiefly to be regarded, and maintained: secondly the iustest, who euer taught them that iustice in a politike gouernment was to be preferred: thirdly the temperatest, who alwaies set before them examples of temperancie: and fourthly the valiantest, who euer shewed them many things concerning fortitude, theoricall vertues, and the worthie acts of kings, Princes, and noble men, and exhorted them diligently to imitate good examples, and to eschew, hate, and vterly detest the badde examples, and shamefull enterprises of wicked tyrants. But I may write vnto you (most vertuous Prince) that as our heavenly father hath liberally provided for you by birthright, (if you liue thereunto) the scepters of diuers kingdomes; so hath he also as lovingly caused you to be borne the sonne of such a father, who as he is able through the rare and excellent gifts of God; so by the penning of that his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΝ for your onely selfe, he hath shewed himselfe in very deede to be answerable to those foure picked, sought for, and chosen teachers of the Persians. Doe but view, I pray you, and consider a while the foure qualities of those foure Persian teachers, and then weigh and examine your owne deare, fathers Christian, and Princely instructions, and you shall right soone perceiue that his fatherly precepts there, vnto you commended, doe not a farre off point, and aime at those foure vertues by them severally taught, but rather in such abundant sort (considering

The Epistle.

considering his short and compendious manner of writing) display, and lay open for your instruction, and admonition, first the truth, I meane the most true prudence of Gods most holy word, which he in earnest wise commendeth vnto you, in your selfe, and among your subjects to be especially regarded, and maintained. Secondly iustice which teacheth you to be carefull with great magnanimity, wisdom, and discretion to preserve your politick government. Thirdly temperance, or moderation, which he chargeth you over and over againe, to observe, not onely in your kingly offices and duties, but also euen in all things indifferent, as in your apparell, in your meates, and drinke, your sleeping, your bodily exercises, &c. And fourthly fortitude, describing there vnto you, what true fortitude is, and wherein it truly consisteth. The which foure vertues, and many other, your fathers booke (lauding of no small paines, diligence, & vigilant reading,) entreated of; which after that it came to my hands here in England (since the decease of our late soueraigne Queene Elizabeth) my wits were so ravisht therewith at the first reading, that I againe and againe read it over, and yet not sufficed therewith, I tooke pen in hand, and as my slender wit and abilitie serued me, I excerpted, and here and there picked out, briefly as I could, the fittest and principallest precepts and instructions, and those severally haue I translated into Latine & English verses, euery sentence into a Tetraslick Latine, & an Hexaslick English, which in that suddaine phylauticall heate of my spirit, I haue caused here to be published, & presumed very boldly like a blind Bauius to commit them to the shrouding of your Princely wings, most humbly crauing that you would pardon mine attempt and grant them your fauourable protection.

The Epistle.

on: which if you will vouchsafe to doe, then shall both this hastie birth of my weake braine come abroad with more safetie from the nipping of all busie baweling barkers, curious caullers, sawcie Sycophants, and all the factious familie of Momus his mates, and my selfe also as otherwise, so hereby the more bounden continually to invoke the Almightyes maiestie, so to direct, gouerne, and guide all your actions with his holy spirit, that here in this life you may principally become zealous for his honour and glorie, then that you may in some good measure satisfie the heartie hope and desired expectation, *patrie, parentum, & amicorum ortus tui partem sibi vendicantium*; And lastly, afterwards obtaine a portion in the number of Gods elect children in that heavenly Hierusalem.

*Rushington in Lincolnsbiere this 8.
of December. 1603.*

Your Fathers Maiesties most loyall subiect
and both his and your humble Orator,

William Willymat.



SPECVLVM PRINCIPIS.

Lib.1. Speculum Principis:

1. Præceptum.

Deus cognoscendus, amandus, gratiæ
deo agendæ.

Sit tibi cura Deum cognoscere prima potentem,
Proxima sincero completti cordis amore:
Quo te maiori Deus insigniuit honore,
Is sibi vult tanto referatur gratia maior.

2. Præceptum.

Regi non conceditur liberior potestas
peccandi quod Rex lit.

Non tibi liberior sceleris concessa potestas,
Quod reliquos superas regio diademate clavis.
Inspicitur populo minimus vel Principis error,
Grandia cum nihili privati crimina pendis.

3. Præceptum.

Reges quantum autoritate, tantum virtute, & bonis
operibus, subditos præcedere debent.

Esse memores reges solio præcellere plebi,
Ut coram populo vigeant virtute serena,
Atq; palam niteant operum splendore bonorum,
Lumen ut accensum spissas illuminat umbras.

4. Præceptum.

In timorem, & notitiam Dei, intendendus
est animus.

Ut te sacra docent Salomonis dicta, timorem
Notitiamq; dei, præ cunctis arripe rebus:
Hæc quæcumq; decens profuturæ dogmata Christi,
Te præstare docent, munusq; subire Monarchæ.

2
Or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

1
CAre first my sonne your God to know and loue,
Which rules all things from azurde skies aboue:
Who as he hath you brought to glorious throne
Of regall state, about the rest, alone,
So doeth he still expect of you iustly,
Redoubled thanks, from heart vnfaignedly.

2
Thinke not you may more boldly sinne embrace,
Because you sit aloft in royall place:
But knowe because you are a Prince of fame,
That vice must not disgrace your Princely name:
A Princes fault, though small, each man doth scorne,
When subiects hainous faults are lightly borne.

3
On Princes God doth glorie great bestowe,
Aboue their subiects farre in fame to flowe,
Hereby declaring plaine as in a glasse,
That they in vertues must all other passe:
Their vertuous life to all must cast a light,
As candles cleere doe shine in darke some night.

4
First strue for knowledge of your God to haue,
And next his feare in heart sure to engraue:
As Salomon doeth teach in words full plaine,
From thence the surest treasures you shall gaine,
Your kingly duties here on earth to frame,
And be a Christian true in deed and name.

3

Lib. i. Speculum Principis:

5

Volenti regis aut Christiani officia & munera ex-
qui, sacra scrutandæ sunt literæ.
*Si cupias populo moderari legibus æquis,
Si vel xpistianos sanctam traducere vitam:
Scripturas scrutare sacras, lege, percipe lectas,
Ut verus pateat sensus dominumq; precare.*

6

Non ad sensus nostros interpretandæ sunt
sacra scripturæ.
*Scriptura à recta nunquam declinet amissi
Turbidus affectus, sed eum rege lumine verbis:
Nec contra sensum violenter cogo sacra
Verba loqui, neque quod quidam turpiter audent.*

7

Scriptura duo in se continet, mandatum,
& prohibitum.
*Pagina sacra duo præsertim continet in se,
Quæ bona sunt mandat, prohibet contraria, pare
Partem in utramq; libens, tibi nec satis esse putabis.
Declinasse malum, bona si non feceris aequè.*

8

Non est alicui indulgendum peccato, tametsi pluri-
ma alia præstiteris bona.
*Nene putes licitum quod sacra legis adætu
Imperio, bona præstiteris vel plurima, fallis
Turpia prætexis iustis miscerier isto
Posse, deo scelus hoc est intolerabile iusto.*

4
or a Princes direction. 1. Book

5
The path that doth direct you to the place
Where you may learne to sway your kingly mace,
Is sacred Scriptures ; which both read, and heare,
Search out, and learne them with true Christian feare :
And pray to God your senses so to guide,
That from true sense thereof you neuer slide.

6
Let your affections framde by natures mould
Peruerse and vile, directly keepe and hold
The sacred steppes of Oracles diuine,
From sense whereof, doe not a jot decline :
Wrest not the same to serue your wicked will,
Like Puritanes who so the Scriptures spill.

7
Two things doth holy writ chiefly containe,
First good to doe, then euill to refraine,
And both obaid must be with all your heart :
Doe good things well, from euill doe depart.
And thinke it not enough t' abstaine from sinne,
Vlesse you practise good, and ioy therein.

8
This error vile, let not your heart assaile,
Which doth with too too many men preuaile :
Although you haue perform'd good deedes before
In former times, and eke of those good store,
Yet as a cloake you may not them pretend,
To sinnefull acts sometimes to condescend.

5

Lib. I. Speculum Principis :

9

Totus Dei cultus in duobus
positus est.

Religio gradibus constat divina duobus,
Interiore, Deum prece sollicitare fideli :
Exteriore, sacros vitæ producere fructus;
Ille Dei, cultum, docet, hic te fratris amorem.

10

Firmissima religionis fundamenta sunt
sacrae scripturae.

Hanc veram solamq; putes quam sustinet ipsa
Pagina sacra (basis firmissima) religionem.
Non scripto verbo fundata superflua sunt;
Huic simul oppositum sit detestabile monstrum.

11

Duae sunt totius sacrae scripturae partes, fundamen-
tum prioris est lex, posterioris Christus.
Scriptura partes sunt lex, & fœdera pacis
In Christo mediante, rata, peccata venelat
Rex iramq; Dei, fœdo pro crimine iustam :
Fœdus habet Christum peccatum morte fugantem.

12

Legis epitome est decalogus, per Moſen & Pro-
phetas fuſius explicatus.
Legis ſumma decem præceptis traditur, atq; ſanctis
Fuſius hæc Moſes aperit, ſanctiq; Prophetæ.
Præmia morigeris proponunt dulcia ſanctis,
Et ſua conſequitur iuſtiſſima pœna rebelles.

or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

9

Gods seruice pure which he of vs demands,
In two degrees, or duties duly stands:
By faithfull praier to innocate his name,
And next, in righteousnes our liues to frame:
These twaine to practise right from conscience pure,
To God, and man, is our best seruice sure.

10

Hold this for truth (an axiome sure and sound)
That that religion which is surely found
In sacred holy writ doth pure remaine:
All points thereon not grounded are but vaine.
And all things els contrarie to this word
Account them vile, and eke to be abhord.

11

Two parts the sacred Scriptures doe containe,
The Law describing sinne to sinners plaine,
And Iustice due to sinne: the Gospel then
The ground whereof is Christ, who sinnefull men,
Deriued right from Adams sinnefull race,
From death redeemes, and offers freely grace.

12

Gods lawes hath precepts tenne laid for his ground,
Whose sense doth Moses more at larg expound,
And Prophets doe the same at large dilate,
Describing plaine ech persons iust estate:
Denouncing blisse to such as doe obey,
But endlesse paines to such as goe astray.

7

Lib. I. Speculum Principis:

13

Summa Evangelij continetur in quatuor historijs de
Christi nativitate, vita, morte, &c.

*Quatuor historijs descripta est gratia sacris,
Quae referunt Christum natum, vivum, cruce passum,
Morte resurgentem, caelos, superosq; petentem:
Usus Apostolicis quorum patet ordine scriptis.*

14

Peccati cognitio ex lege, cuius commentaria sunt Pro-
phetæ, & libri Proverbiorum, & Ecclesiastæ.

*Peccatum vis lege tuam cognoscere totum?
Perlege divini Mosis pia scripta Propheta.
In Mosis libros vis commentaria? prudens
Perlege quae scripsit Salomon, alijsq; Propheta.*

15

Perlegant reges, divinitus inspiratos regum
libros, & annales.

*Præcipuos scriptos annales perlege regum,
Hic etenim cernes, moresq; modumq; regendi:
Hic inter reges vitiosos, siue beatos,
Te facile invenias, propria seu classe reponi.*

16

Doctrina, vita, & mors Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistarum
historijs, & ex Apostolorum epistolis petenda sunt.

*Doctrinam Christi, vitam, mortemq; laboris
Scire? Evangelij scriptores perlege sacris:
Scire tamen plus vis? quid mandat epistola Pauli,
Quid Petri pete, quid Iude, diviniq; Iohannis.*

or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

13

The word of grace th'Euangelists vnfold,
Wherein the wonderous birth of Christ is told
His life, his death, his resurrection,
And last to heauen his ascension:
The vse whereof to euery Christians viewe,
Th'Apostles sent as commentators to shew.

14

Desire you for to know your sinnes, alas,
Which by the lawe appeare as in a glasse?
Read Moses books: a cōment would you haue
His workes t' expound? the Prophets graue
Peruse, and workes which Salomon the wise,
The patterne great of wisdome did deuise

15

The books of kings, and Chronicles oft read,
There you your mind with stories may wel feed,
There gouernment is scene of kings of olde,
There shall you see your selfe to be inrolde,
In Catalogue of kings that liued well,
Or of such as in lewdnesse did excell.

16

Desire you for to know what Christ hath taught,
His life, his death, what miracles he wrought?
Th'Euangelists to read, then take in hand:
His will yet would you further vnderstand?
Th'Apostles writings read, which will you traine,
In Christ his schoole true wisdome to attaine.

Casto.

9

Lib. I. Speculum Principis:

17

Casto, sancto, lubentiq; animo legendæ sunt
sacro sanctæ scripturæ.

*Sincero, castoq; legas pia dogmata corde,
Quæ superant capium sancto reuerere timore,
Sæpius & lato lege pectore cognita, dura
Perspicere ut possis, summo contende labore.*

18

Fides animam Deo congruitans,
precibus nutritur.

*Quæ promissa dei sibi firmiter applicat ipsi
Hanc (dilecte) fidem rape, vi felice coactam:
Hæc alit, & pura magis religionis adauget
Semen, & ipsa dei verbo, precibusq; fonetur.*

19

Precatio dominica, Psalmiq; Davidici præcipue
in precibus formæ.

*Dirigat in precibus brevis & pia forma precandæ
A Christo præscripta suis: & Davidis hymni,
Qui regni fasces gestans, conducere regi,
Quæ possunt nouit, precibusq; petenda modestis,*

20

Sæpe deum precare, animo præsertim quieto,
vel saltem lecto decumbens.

*Sollicita dominum precibus cum libera curis
Mens fiet, imprimis dederis cum membra quieti.
Publica namq; alijs præbent exempla precandæ
Vota magis, quam dant solatia iusta precanti,*

Reado

Or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

17

Read holy writte with sanctified mind,
Where hidden truth you cannot plainly find,
Such places doe with reuerence admire,
Your shallowe wittes which cannot well aspire
To sense diuine, controll; read places plaine
With ioy, let intricat be wonne with payne.

18

Lay hold on faith, that faith surely embrace,
That apprehends Gods free eternall grace,
By Christ, perswading you still to apply,
His promise to your soule vndoubtedly,
This faith religion feedes, this life doth giue,
And this by holy word, and prayer doth liue.

19

Let all your prayers for substance be the same,
Which Christ our sauour did first for vs frame,
And Dauids psalmes, who beeing king could tell
By practise wantes of worldly princes well;
He knew what might at high Iehouahs hand,
Be craued best, and what he would withstand.

20

Pray ofte, when mind is not with troubles prest,
But chieflie, when you are in bedd at rest,
In secret to your God see then you pray,
Though oft you haue performed this by day,
For publike prayer doth more example shew,
Then yeeld to him that prayeth comfort true.

C I

Qua

21
Lib. I. Speculum Principis:

22
Quæ precibus à Deo petenda.
*Non contende tuis solum cælestia votis,
Sed nunc exigui, nunc magni panderis ora
Accumulet tibi dona deus, quibus ipse positus
Tandem confirmes fidei rata pignora vera.*

23
**Impetrata à deo gratissimo accipienda animo;
non impetrata æquo ferenda animo.**
*Si deus annuerit precibus, votisq; potentem
Fecerit, ipse refer grates mox pectore lato;
Sin contra: ipse feras, dominum votisq; fatiga,
Vt vidua iniusti penetrans Indicis aures.*

23
**Conscientia quid sit, vnde sit, quales
eius effectus.**
*Nil conscire sibi, nihil est nisi mentis opaca
Lumen, ab æterno cuius motore tributum;
Signa gerit iuste, testatur iusta gerenti,
Si sed iniqua facit, sensu compungit amaro.*

24
**Conscientia quomodo tractanda, &
Non qui eius morbi.**
*Nil conscito tibi, nulla patto scito culpa,
Non sis securus, tua te in iusta facta repungant,
Vana superstitio non te perstringat, ut ulla
Grata Deo speres, nisi qua Deus imperet ipse.*

Request

or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

21

Request of God not things spirituall
Alone, but sue sometimes for temporall,
Sometimes with greater things, sometimes with lesse,
Desire that he would you vouchsafe to lesse;
That so enjoying oft your full request,
Your faith thereby confirm'd may surely rest.

22

If God in praier giue you good successe,
Then thank him frō your heart with ioyfulness
If not, yet learne with patience true to beare
What he allots, and cease him not to feare:
And as th'vnrighteous iudge the widow pore
Did vrge, so you your god with praier implore.

23

What conscience is, if you desire to know,
A light of knowledge which from god doth flowe,
Within mans heart engraft I doe it call,
Attending aie vpon his actions all:
If right he doth, of right it witnesse beares,
If wrong, it daunts his heart with inward feares.

24

Your conscience pure if that you will retaine,
Let not the same these foule diseases staine,
A cauterizd obdurate sense of sinne,
By carelessse long continuance therein.
No superstitious rite let you withdrawe
To serue your god contrarie to his lawe.

C 3

Quos

Lib. I. Speculum Principis :

Quomodo agenda sit vita, ut nullam in animis
nostris conscientiae labem habeamus.

*Singula quoque die recolas commissae sceleris,
Iudicioque tua damnabis turpia, ne te
Vindictam repetenda, deus dignis acen
Iudex, abiectione, nona viis sae relinquo.*

Dies extremi iudicii assidue

recolendus.

*Iudicii extremi quo te mors pallida sistit
Esto memor, tanquam rationem inde daturus,
Presentemque diem tibi duxisse supremum.
Credi o, sic nunquam metus fera spicula mortis.*

Aiutudo & mendiando

abstinendum.

*In vanum domini iurando assuere nomen
Noli: lacra scelus magnam non magna sequuntur.
Mentiri metuas, si audax dicere verum.
Peccat enim pariter mendax, & vera vocandus.*

Inter substantias & umbras est

discernendum.

*In mediis discrimen habet, rebusque salubris, stulto
Externos inter risus, cultumque supremi
Numinis internum discernere, dei patat ipsa
Quid lex, quid signantia hominum distinguit perinde.*

or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

Your conscience cleare to keepe (a salue to find)
Your by past actions daily call to mind,
Accuse, condemne, and iudge your selfe of all,
That God your sinnes doe not to iudgment call,
Such sinnes as haue your righteous God offended,
Auoid and see the same with speed amended.

The finall doome of fearefull iudgment day,
When due account shall come, remember aye:
In liuing learne to die, your life so cast,
As if ech day of life should be the last,
So feare of death from heart you shall extrude,
Which iustly deemed is true fortitude.

Least that your tender conscience you offend,
By vse of swearing, carefully attend,
A sinne by which small gaine you can possesse,
Excuse therefore it doth deserue the lesse,
Vntruth to speake, or truth denie beware,
Two sister sinnes, and God will neither spare.

Twixt weightie pointes of your saluation,
And matters of small estimation,
Learne wisely to discerne with might and mayne,
Twixt substances, and shadowes meere vaine,
Distinguish right twixt Gods reueyled will,
And mans deuysed dreames put difference still.

Verbura

15
Lib. I. Speculum Principis:

29
Verbum Dei si referant ministri, honore sunt digni;
sin contra, cohibendi.

*Si domini verbo referant fundata ministri,
Legatos tanquam Christi venerere ministros:
Sed fines verbi tibi si transire videntur,
Regali sceptro tales compeste vagantes.*

30
Sit deus in ore tibi parcius, in corde
vero frequentius.
*Ore Deus modicè, sed pectore plurimus esto,
Virtutem quod ames ipsam, & virtutis alumnos,
Omnigenumq; scelus quod detestabile ducas,
Re potius cupias populo, quam voce patere.*

31
Non sis hypocrita, sed re potius, quam nomine
pius esse studeo.
*Non placeant ficta species pietatis, & umbra,
Nec potius mundi, quam cæli munera speres,
Nam tibi pro meritis operum si premia captes
In terris, cælis quæ sunt tibi debita perdes.*

Finis libri primi.

or a Princes direction. 1. Book.

29

Whiles Pastors truly preach Gods sacred word,
And doctrine sound that doth thereto accord,
As heraulds sent from God doe them obay:
But if from holy scriptures bounds they stray,
Accompt them then as foolish, light, and vaine,
And vse good meanes to bring them home againe.

30

In common talke your words see so you frame,
That much you doe not vse Gods holy name:
But in your heart see that he deeply dwell,
And let no vaine conceits him thence expell:
How vertue you doe loue, and vice detest,
By deedes, not words, let plainly be exprest.

31

Ioy more your vertuous life indeede to see,
Then of the world accounted so to be,
For moe rewards expect, and greater praise
Of God, for workes then in your mortall daies;
If for good deedes you looke for glorie here,
Rewards you loose for you prepard els where.

The ende of the first Booke.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

Salubres & bonæ leges sunt condendæ, & ad earundem obedientiam cogendi sunt subditi.

Quatenus es princeps leges sancire salubres
Conuenis, & populos laijs parere rebelles
Cogere, deinde tue vite, & pietate inornâ,
Te decet exemplar populo præbere misello.

²
Ut leges melius sanciamur, inter regem
& Tyrannum distinguendum.

Ut possis leges melius stabilire beatas,
Obserua cautè, quid sit discriminis inter
Regnantem iussu regem, & amicumq; Tyrannum,
Hinc proprium munus facilitatione patebit.

³
Quomodo inter se differunt rex &
tyrannus.

Rex bonus ad populi se commodari ritè creatum
Agnoscat, sceptrumq; dei putat esse: Tyrannus
Se credit cines ideo accepisse regendos,
Ut sibi sint prada, ut miseros rapiat, lanietq;.

⁴
Bonis regis erga subditos suos officia
quæ sint.

Sit tibi regales petis ut tribuantur honores,
Totus in hoc fueris, populi curare salutem,
Commoda venari, cines pacesq; tueri,
Quo natos dulces pater amplexatur amore.

or a Princes direction. .2 Book.

¹
Your kingly office doth consist and stand,
 In two maine points expected at your hand :
 First for your people wholesome lawes to frame,
 Striving with iustice & execute the same,
 And secondly your commons hartes to winne,
 By sanctitie of life to leave their sinne.

²
 That wholesome lawes for wealth of publique weale,
 May stand and executed right preuaile,
 Twixt lawfull kinges that good and vertuous be,
 And tyrants which vsurpe with crueltie,
 Put differences; so shall you soone discerne,
 Such duties as your regall throne concerne.

³
 The king acknowledgeth himselfe ordeyned,
 Of god, that subiectes weale may be sustayned,
 His scepter as Gods scepter he doth swaye,
 Thereof to giue account at iudgment day,
 The tyrant liues at ease all voide of toile,
 His subiectes liues and goods he counts his spoyle.

⁴
 If regall tytles, praise, and glorious fame,
 If honours high you do desire by name,
 Noe paines at all refuse, all toiles endure,
 Your peoples good and weale still to procure,
 As parents loue their children deare by kind,
 So let your subiectes true your fauour find.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

5

Boni regis, qualis vita,
mors ita.

*Si tibi commissas recte moderaris habenas
Imperij, placida morieris pace sepulchrum,
Qui mirabantur vivum, meminisse iunabis.
Semper & astringero mens aurea vincet hydrops.*

6

Tyranni habent suam
Nemefin.

*Expettes populum te sponte lacessere bello,
Pellere vel regno, vel duro sternere ferro,
Sceptra gubernantem dominantis more tyranni,
Ridiculus fies, Stygis & tormenta subibis.*

7

Reipublice paucæ leges maxime
sunt utiles,

*Ne sis sollicitus complures condere leges,
Sit satis impleri paucas, populoq; salubres,
Quid populi rabies metues, vulgusq; furor em
Quod iusta exogueris infans probat improbus ipse.*

8

Nimia clementia, nimiaq; severitas
quid efficiunt.

*Nec nimis esto iniqua mansueta, rigidaq; suo Tyrannus.
Hoc damnum capitale ciet, parit illud apertum
Contemptumq; sui, pariter legumq; inarum:
Unde fluens duri facieris summi atq; caterna,*

02
or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

5
If that with wisdom you shall empire guide,
Not yelding much to each Ill humord sid,
Your subiectes that reioyce to see your life,
Shall waile your death with sighes and mournings rife,
And as their ioy by your weale was procured,
So griefs encrease to Tyrants much inured.

6
If that to tyrannize you shall delight,
Your hatefull life your subiectes shall excite,
To worke your bane, and wofull ouerthrowe,
Few shall lament but laugh to see your woe,
And that which ouerlate you shall lament,
Eternall paynes shall sure your soule torment.

7
In multitude of lawes doe not excell,
Make fewe, but good, and execute them well,
When iustice to performe you do assay,
Noe vpreres, sturres, nor broyles, let you dismay,
For iustice doth by kind so farre surmount,
That vylest men of her do make account.

8
Let iustice so with mercy mixed be,
That neither do exceede their iust degre,
If you perhappes shall be too much seuered,
In steed of loue shall hatred then appeare:
But if your selfe too meeke and kind you showe,
Contempte, with heapes of mischieffes overflowe.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

9
Crimina non condonanda, sed mor-
te digna.

*Non artes magica, nec non spontanea cedes,
Incestusq, veneficium, scelus & Sodomorum,
Fistulæ nummi, nec quidquam tale reperiunt,
Effugias sine morte gravi, quam iure mereantur.*

10
Qui falsos spargunt rumores non
condonandi.

*His non absimile est, pœnasq, meretur eadem.
Si quis rumores disseminat ore nefandos,
Aut scripto, quibus est illata parentibus ipsis,
Principibusq, talis falso nota criminis atræ.*

11
Oportet regem in subditorum suorum op-
pressores seuerè animaduertere.

*Qui cruciant spoliantq, opibus violenter egenos,
Hos cohibe, causasq, inopum defende tuarum:
Nam tibi quæ maior contingat gloria regi,
Quam frenare audaces inopæ bona fraude petentes.*

12
Coram iusto indice non est persona-
rum acceptio.

*Iudicij dominus sedens sibi vendicat ipse,
Hic neq, dextrorsum stellas vestigia index,
Neve sinistrorsum, utriusq, causæq, potentiam
Indulgento nimis, nec egenos commiserando.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

9

Some crimes in kind so great and heynous are,
That conscience such permittes you not to spare,
As witchcraft, wilfull murder, and incest,
False coyning, Sodomy that hellish guest,
With poysoning vyle; these faults of great disgrace,
Let not escape but weede them out in space.

10

Hereto an other crime as hainous (sure,)
Like paines of death deseruing to endure,
I add, when persons vile vnreuerently,
In wryting, or by word, your progenie,
Your parents high, and Princes of great name,
By flanders falsely fained doe defame.

11

The rage of such as doe oppresse the poore,
Beate downe with force, restrainē them more & more,
Attend to heare and try with princely care,
The sutes of such as still oppressed are,
Wrongs to redresse, oppressions to restraine,
True honours brings conioynd with surest gaine.

12

When you are set as iudge on regall throne,
That place take not for yours, but gods alone,
Let iudgement sway awry to neither hand,
But iudge a right when truth is thoroughly scand,
Be not to poore or rich found ouer kind,
For iustice must be frendlesse eke and blynd,

D 3

Oportet

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

13

Oportet regem subditorum suorum vitia intueri,
eademq; statim reprimere.

*Ut medicus primo vitiosos scire luberas
Corporis humores, medicas cunct applicat artes,
Sic Princeps sapiens late dominantia primo
Crimina disquisit, mox amputat ense reposita.*

14

Superbia, avaritia, & ambitio, tres
Ecclesie morbi.

*Pestiferos olim passa est Ecclesia morbos
Nummorum cupidamq; suum, fastumq; superbum,
Ambitionem etiam tollentem ad sidera cursum.
Nuper & his cecidit Romana Ecclesia morbis.*

15

Puritanorum (quos vocant)

*Observa nati apud (quos dicunt) lumine caute,
Quos tibi, nec meritum, nec iuramentum fideles
Efficient, rabida denotat seditioni,
Quos ciet ambitio, quibus & convicia cordi.*

16

Docti & boni Ecclesie ministri meri-
to extollendi.

*Artibus ingenuis qui se excoluere ministri,
Quiq; suam degunt expertum extimere vitam,
Illis precipue iure assignentur honores,
Prescius gregibus sacris, & internum tron.*

Euen

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

13

Euen as the good Physician first will knowe,
Before his patientes cure he yndergoe,
What peccant humors in the body are,
So will a prudent king retayne this care,
To learne his subiectes faultes by natures frame,
And then by Iustice duly purge the same.

14

The churches three diseases naturall,
Which still haue beene her ruine and downfall,
Since first the church on earth here did abide
Are auarice, ambition, eke and prid,
And now the same by Gods decree and doome,
Haue ouerthrowne the Peopish Church of Rome.

15

Take heede of puritans the churches woe,
And very pestes of common wealthes also,
Whom giftes, nor oathes, nor promises can bind,
A railing broode of high aspiring mind,
Who make their fancies fonde the very square,
Of conscience pure, of such I say beware.

16

Such men as perfect learning haue attained,
Which godly are, with vitious life vnstained,
Accept, approue, and gladly entertaine,
And such aduancee to states of greatest gaine,
On such bestowe good store of maintinance,
To Bishoprickes, and linings them aduance,

Bon

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis

17

**Boni Pastores amandi, Puritani vero
reiciendi.**

*Nemo tibi pastore bono sit charior unquam;
Quicq. putant vitiose pariter prorsus ab omni
Rejce, principum tibi erode obtingere laudem
Episcopus passim vocatur amplius, aut*

18

**Generalia praecepta, in Ecclesie
bonum.**

*Doctorem grati quicq. sumus doctrinamq. piamq.
Obtineat, sua intra scholis des maxime doctus,
Demissam cetero doctrinam protege, parant
Quo primum a Christo fuis oratione tradita servas.*

19

Alia.

*Quodcumq. ad cultum sanctis cultumq. ministris
Doctoremq. scholis satis est, id vix parabis,
Illorum & regimen decernas esse decorum,
Promoveas humiles, panis reprimasq. superbos.*

20

**De officiis pastoris & gregis
sui.**

*Discant praedones reverendi priores,
Hisq. suis gregibus iusto decorentur honore,
Hinc pietas populi, pax, & doctrina beati
Maxima terrestri fuerint tibi gloria vite.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book

17

Let noe man find more fauour at your hand,
Then pastors pure that on their watches stand,
Dislike none more I say, none more disdaine,
Then puritans which are both proude and vaine:
Your fayrest stile on earth take this to be,
To holie church a nourishing father free.

18

See that eche church and fenerall congregation,
In compasse of your royall domination
His painfull pastor haue, see schooles maintain'd,
Noe priuiledge of theirs see you restraind,
See ministers noe doctrine false doe preach,
But such as God in holy writ doth teach.

19

Let preachers of the word that painfull be,
Prouision haue of store sufficiently,
For schooles of learning for thou must provide,
That in their mainteynance noe want be spied,
Set downe for them a comely gouernement,
The meeke aduaunce, let pride haue punishment.

20

Let ministers their betters reuerence,
And let their flockes performe obedience
To them againe, that so whilst peace doth raigne,
And learning shine, and godlynesse remaine,
Your chiefest ioy may be on earthly moulde,
These passing comforts clearly to behold.

E I

Episcopi

Lib.2. Speculum Principis:

Episcopi quales non tolerandi.

*Vt rabies reseda, ita siquis Episcopus extat
Indomitos fastus redotens, ritusq; Papales,
Hunc cohibe, & duris animos restringe catenis,
Vt sacer hic ordo minima ne labe notetur,*

Nobilitatis Scotiæ triplex morbus.

*Nobilitas Scotia triplici quasi febre laborat;
Vi premit afflicto, causas munusq; suorum
Injustas, gaudet ferro se vindice dirø
Vlcisci, suos, sentens punire, genusq;*

Discat nobilitas regis sui legibus se subdere.

*Vt plebs, magnates ita subdere legibus aequis
Se discant, parui pendat iramve furores.
Namq; reformandi reges nunquã esse probatum est
Concilium, nisi precedente tyrannide dura.*

Oportet regem (nobilibus præsertim & bonis subditis) se clementem & affabilem præbere.

*Qui sunt maiorum generoso sanguine nati,
Convinant vita tibi consuetudine iuncti,
Nec minus & pauper, vita probitate decorus,
Ut lasus ad te facilius sit transitus ipso.*

Or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

21

Like as the puritans both proud and vaine,
You must repress; so suffer not to raigne,
Proud papall Bishoppes, which of Rome doe smell,
And as you them aduance deseruing well,
So chayne them in with bounds, when once they stray,
That pure this state may stand with perfect stay.

22

Your Scottish nobles for the greater parte,
Threefold diseases foster in their heart,
The weaker sort with wronges to pinch and straine,
And seruants quarrells wrongfull to maintaine,
And he with all his kinne to keepe a feide,
With others and their kinne, (so mischefes breed.)

23

To keepe your lawes your nobles force as well,
As subiectes meane by feare you doe compell,
If discontent they chaunce themselues to shew,
Feare not at all, noe damage thence can growe
Pretended shewes of princes reformation,
Takes only place in cruell domination.

24

With Barons, and your gentlemen frequent,
Whose daies in honest traide of life are spent,
Yea ech degree and ranck of men embrace,
Whome honestie and vertuous life doth grace,
That so without your nobles helpe they may,
Their sutes to you make knowne without delay.

E 2

Inimicitie

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis

25

Inimicitia nobilium Scotia quomodo reprimenda.

*Adversus pugnas magnatum (nomine feidas)
Legibus austeris contendito, quo tibi nemo
Charior est, capitis primum discrimine multam
Is subeat, sic poena alios aliena docebit.*

26

Nobilium quanta cura sit habenda.

*Nobilium ne sit vulgaris cura tuorum,
Sape etenim viris comitatur stemmate claros;
Nobilium ex numero qui parent legibus almis
Hos cole, seu regni patriarchae hos & honora.*

27

Nobiles quomodo tra-

standi.

*Regia nobilibus progeneris sanguine claro
Fulgeat, hinc etenim veri nascuntur honores;
Horum consilijs in magnis utere rebus,
Dilige morigeros, rigide tractato rebelles.*

28

Magnatum erga regem ministerium optimum.

*Instituas Proceres nullum prestare regenti
Posse ministerium tibi quod iucundius extat,
Quam si sponte velint leges implere salubres,
Atq; leni exemplo trahere ad vestigia vulgus.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book

25

Against the barbarous feides of Scottissh land,
Put lawes in execution out of hand,
Beginne with him whome chiefly you regard,
Let others by his punishment be scar'd,
Thus dealing first by sage and good aduise,
From head to toe the cure shall soone arise.

26

Take heede you make not light regard of those,
That Nobles are in deede; but rather choose,
Such men to magnify, a chief account
Is due to such as doe in bloud surmount
Your nobles subiect to your lawes embrace,
As peers and fathers to your land with grace.

27

Your courtly trayne let be of noble blood.
That bringes true honour and your chieffest good,
Acquaint them with the matters of your land,
Imploy their skill and vse their helping hand,
Vse curtesie, to those that will obey,
Sterne countenaunce to those that doe gaynsay.

28

Into your nobles cares and hearts instill,
That this your seruice best befittes your will,
If they themselues before the peoples eyes,
Obedience yeeld vnto your graue decrees,
And by their force and noble power doe cause
The meaner sort for to obey your lawes.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

**Mercatores reipublicæ inutiles
cohibendi.**

*Quo sine non poterit populus bene degere vitam
Nauibus externas non exportetur in oras:
Non aliunde petat gerras mercator inanes,
Lucra sibi cumulans vendendo vilia magno.*

**Qualis nummus cuden-
dus.**

*Materies patrij sit sola numismatis aurum
Argentumq; bonis tua sic respublica diues
Affluet, ingentes sic concumulabis in arcem
Cautus opes, in militiam vel damna paratus.*

**Artifices quomodo tra-
ctandi.**

*Artifices si quid fabricantur fortè dolosè
Vendentes magno peregrinos undiq; doctos
Accersens, permitte tuis operentur in oris:
Horum vesanos cura cohibere tumultus.*

**Aduersus conuitia & maledicta, quibus
utendum remedijs.**

*Si malè te dictis audet proscindere quisquam
Improbos, hunc facile tollit sententia legum,
Sic tamen imperium instè tractabis, ut ater
Inspiciens Nemo timeat maledicere regi.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

29

Permit not merchauntes to transport away,
Such needfull things as are your subiectes stay,
And bringing home but toyes and bables meere,
Provide the baddest ware, and sell them deare,
Whereby they doe their owne estate aduaunce,
By others losse, and pryse of toyes enhaunce.

30

Of gould and siluer pure your money make,
In substance let your subiectes payment take,
So shall your people soone in riches growe,
Your treasures shall be full or ouerflowe :
That if in warres, or other streites you stand,
Will counteruaile the wantes of all your land.

31

If tradesmen worke deceitfully by slight,
Their wares both badd and deare, then by good right,
Trades-men offoreyn landes you compell,
To practise artes with them whiche excell,
But whiles they doe their trades thus exercyse,
See that noe mutines they enterpryse.

32

For such as iudge and speake vnreuerently,
Against the kings most royall maiestie,
Vse rigour of your lawes as helpe in parte,
But chiefly rule so right that Momus heart,
May not you iustly blame; his spightfull tonge,
Let stopped be by iustice thwarting wronge.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

Rex se & mitem, & severum
exhibeat.

*Vt Popula mitem, sic aqua lance severum
Exhibeas vultum, sic qui convitia iactant
Improba, dura metum committere crimina nunquam
Audebunt, meritis motuentes Principis iras.*

Clementiæ regis erga bonos sub-
ditos fructus.

*At tui vivunt tranquilla pace fruentes
Laudati ciues, plenis opibusq; vigeunt,
Et tua tam facilis coget clementia landes
Ore tuas lato resonare ad sydera cæli.*

De ludis scenicis, publicis specta-
culis, &c.

*Ut vivant homines d. aucti fœdere amoris,
Publica permittas fieri ætacula, ludos
Festaq; concelebrent, domini modo Sabbata magni
Ludicra tractando populus ne polluat audax.*

Semel in triennio oportet regem præcipuas reg-
norum suorum regiones visere.

*Non ter Zodiaci percurras signa recurvi
Phebus, quin primas regnorum viseris vrbes;
Quæq; suos habeat præfectos gens ibi natos;
Cum fueris præsens, litæq; compone molestias.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

33

Like as a countnaunce milde and full of grace,
To subiectes must be shew'd in princely face;
So must you shew sometimes seueritie,
With myldnes mixed alwaies equallie;
Thus shall you cursed railers keepe in awe,
And iustlie force them to obay your lawe.

34

But louing subiectes shall not only rest,
In suretie, and in wealth of peace posselt,
But for your curtesies they shall be bent,
To speake your prayses due with full consent,
Whereby your fame shall farre and wide resound,
For ruling scepter right by vertues ground.

35

That loue and friendship may increase and growe,
Amongst your people neighbours high and lowe,
Denie them not both sportes and games to haue,
Debarre no feastes that neighbour-hood doth craue,
So that the Sabboth be not lewdely spent,
In pastimes vaine and sportes vnreuerent.

36

In each three yeares be sure your selfe to see,
The chiefeft partes of all your kingdomes three,
To Viceroyes doe not all together leane
But heare your selfe sometimes the poore complaine;
Let home-borne nobles iudge in euery land,
But when you come, great causes take in hand.

F r

Subditi

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

Subditi defendendi sunt.

*Non modo subiectos, ne quid patientur iniqui
Mutuo, defendes, sed & externa regna tenentes
Ne damno afficiantur curabis, & arma manebis
Hinc licite, modo sit iustissima causa tuorum.*

Externi reges quomodo tractandi.

*Externos reges summo tractabis honore,
His neq; falle fidem, quamvis mala damna sequantur,
Hic quid agas, monstrat sanctissima regula Christi,
Feceris hoc alijs, fieri tibi quod cupis ipse.*

Proditores externi quomodo tractandi.

*Proditor eslo tibi, qui coniravit aperte
In proprium regem, solum nec inueris unquam,
Nec dabis ipse fidem, sed regibus esse labora
Externis lassis in prodicione lenamen.*

Bello lacesitus primùm pacem expete.

*Si quis te damnis, aut Marte lacescit iniquo,
Inuisseq; tuos ad litem accendit amaram,
Optatam missis legatis expete pacem;
Sin minus hoc valeat, tunc utere fortiter armis.*

Or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

Strive not alone your subjects to defend
 From mutuall wrongs at home, but more contend
 From wrongs of forraine kings to keepe them sure,
 And in their quarrels, warres you may procure:
 Yet ever see the cause be good and iust,
 In warres to wrongfull causes doe not trust.

Use forraine kings in kindest sort you may,
 Although you dammage doe sustaine, yet aie
 Keepe promise sure, and strive in thankfulnessse,
 Your heartie loue to them for to expresse,
 And looke what thing of them you doe expect,
 To doe the same to them doe not neglect.

Rebellion wrought against a forraine king
 Account your owne, no aide nor succour bring
 To such as doe against their Princes rise,
 And trust them not, but rather such despise;
 But lawefull Princes in their time of neede,
 To helpe in armes, with heartie loue proceede.

If neighbour Princes doe your people wrong,
 Redresse thereof seeke, though by leisure long;
 But if no lawefull offer will preuaile
 To stay their rage against your subjects waile,
 The iustnesse of your cause to God commend,
 And raise vp armes your quarrell to defend.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

41

Si bellandum, causa saltem sit
iustissima.

*Si bellis opus est hostes contendere contra,
Praesidio summo tibi sit iustissima causa;
Omnibus atq; modis illam conare tueri,
Dum nec aruspicium, nec falsa oracula sequaria.*

42

Ante bellum susceptum delibe-
randum.

*Ante feri Martis quam praelia dira monebis,
Principis officium prudentia (ut ipse salutis
Author Christus ait) memori fac mente volutes,
Num valeas hosti rigido concurrere ferro.*

43

Quales milites deli-
gendi.

*Seni Martis opus gestarum delige fortes
Magnanimosq; viros, quos virtus bellica claros
Reddidit, & doctos longa experientia fecit,
His dabis & iuvenes primæno flore iuventa.*

44

Rex in bello quomodo se

*gerat.
Invigiles bello, multum fugissa labores
Dedeceat tristes, spectata scientia quorum
Clarui, his par est tibi consularibus uti,
His comes, his facilio, his mitis, munificusq;*

or a Princes direction. .2 Book.

41

If needes you must to warres, examine well,
The goodnesse of your cause, let that excell;
And vse all lawfull meanes you can deuise,
To backe your cause against your enemies;
But of th'euent by magick art to knowe,
By necromancer, or by witche forgoe.

42

Before that you yet take such warres in hand,
One lesson more see that you vnderstand,
Play you the wise kinges parte by Christ describ'd,
Who wisely for his warres before prouid'te,
Cast all your needefull chardges long before,
See that of men, and money, you haue store.

43

When warres you take in hand thereto constraind,
Of captaines bould in martiall trade well traind
Make carefull choyse, next lusty souldiers braue
Of tender youthfull yeares needes must you haue;
In martiall discipline to be seuer,
The honour of a Prynce doth not impaire.

44

In time of warres vse watchfull diligence,
Expelling quite all slouthfull negligence,
In doubtfull case consult with those whose skill,
In warlike feates may answer to your will;
To winne their hartes with curtesie haue care,
Be liberall in warres, you may not spare.

Lib.2.

39 28
Speculum Principis:

45
Rex in bello quomodo

*Ipse semel subeas, vel bis, discrimina vitæ,
Sed simul ac rigido parva est tibi gloria ferro,
Ne temerè incurras manifesta pericula, neve
Miles in assiduè contende gregarius armis.*

46
Honorificum bellum turpi paci
anteferendum.

*Tardè bella mone, sancito fœdera tardè,
Dumq̃, feris fœdus, prudenter consule causæ,
Prælia namq̃, aliter iuste suscepta videntur
Iniuste merito longè præcellere paci.*

47
Regis virtus populum suum ad virtutis
amorem allicit.

*Regibus haud satis est moderari sceptra, tuosq̃,
Tutari bello, tua si non inclita virtus
Subiectos splendore trahit, comiteq̃, benignè
Allicit, illius mira dulcedine captos.*

48
Regis exemplum & virtus in duabus
consistit rebus.

*Principis exemplum, populos pietatis ad usum
Alliciens, binis consistit partibus, harum
Prima domi famulos monet in virtute regendes,
Altera se interius ornari dotibus urget.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

45

Your person once or twice in hazard set;
But when you shall the fame of courage get,
Doe not your selfe to danger still expose,
With rashnes ouer great, but rather choose,
Your person sure in safteie to retaine,
For peoples weale whose cause you doe maintaine.

46

As rashlie warres you must not vndertake,
So peace with headlong speede you must not make;
Before you doe a peace conclude, prouide
That in your peace the cause be satisfi'd,
Ells warres with iustice made doe farre exceed,
A cowardly peace vniustly so decreed.

47

To rule by lawes will not suffice, nor yet,
By force of armes your people to protect,
Vnlesse in vertues rare your life excell,
Yourselfe, and those that in your court doe dwell,
That thus you may your peoples hartes affect,
Vertues to choose and vices to reiect.

48

Th'exemple of a prince to vertues lure,
Which by his person must his flock procure,
Of braunches two consistes, his courtly traine,
In godly life and vertue to maintaine,
And next with Godly giftes t'nrich his minde,
To rule his people right to him assign'd,

David

Lib.2. Speculum Principis :

Dauid rex optimam & diligendi, & gubernandi
ternos regulam docuit.

*Adibus ut virtus privata luceat alma
Consule Psalographi clarissima scripta Propheta,
Optima qui cecinit moderandis iura ministros,
Qua iusto inflata dextera percutit olim.*

Ab aulicis exemplum trahit
populus.

*Aulicus ut vitam sancte, & traducat honeste
Hoc, tibi curandum magis est, quod vix scelus ullum
Inuenies tetrum quod perpetrat aulicus, ipse
Quin populo exemplum dabit impietatis apertum.*

Aulici quales deli-
gendi.

*Aulicus esto tibi duplex, iuuenesq., senesq.,
Hi docti atq., graves, quibus maxima munera credas,
Illi preclaro prognati stemmate, quorum
Impia maiores non conuulsi cecidit.*

Serui quales à regibus
eligendi.

*Elige mendace vita sine labe ministros,
Ne similem famulis regem plebs inscia dicat,
Dauidis hic praepono tibi praecepta Propheta,
Integer ut tecum talis versetur isdem.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

That courtly trayne you may direct aright,
The Psalmist Dauid yeelds the clearest light,
Whose precepts best besit a christian king,
That court to comely order you may bring,
For which to traine it vp in christian feare,
A carefull mind, and watchfull, you must beare.

That courtiers may their life deuoyde of blame,
In sight of common sort to vertue frame,
Your princely eie with carefull watch must warde,
For els noe crime so vile your royall guard
Can possiblie commit, but by abuse,
Your subiectes hence to sinne will take excuse.

Let court consist of auncient men and graue,
Discreete, and wise, let such high places haue,
And next of younger lordes of noble race,
Whome trayning vp in court you may them grace,
But chiefly choose of those whose auncient blood,
Hath not beene staine with treacherous false-hood.

Your household seruants choose of honest fame,
Whose life is sound and also voide of blame,
Els will the people thinke that you retayne,
Like persons to your selfe in manner vaine,
Herein let Dauid's counsaill still you guid,
Who choose the iust with him for to abid.

Lib.2. Speculum Principis:

53

Rex qualis in seruos veteranos
esse debet.

*Quorum forte tuis spectata parentibus olim
Intemerata fides fuit, hos tibi delige seruos,
Nec bene promeritos iusto sine munere iustos
Amandare velis, veteranis decessitis esto.*

54

Qui fidem maioribus tuis fregerunt, eorum
credere fidei non est satis tutum.

*Ante tuum tempus si conspexere parentes
Forte aliquem falsa detestum fraude Simonis,
Hunc fuge; namq; fidem patri quicunq; fefellit,
Non eius natis talem fore crede fidelem.*

55

Adulatio Principum pestis,
cauenda.

*Gnationem fugito, miseranda peste laborat;
Maxima Principibus solet esse ruina superbis:
Dum blandis patula patuerunt cantibus aures,
Hoc perierit domus, urbes, res publica morbo.*

56

Regij prouentus receptores quales
esse debeant.

*Plebeios homines, quanos, vitasq; probas,
Praefico cogendis tibi vectigalibus, (inquam)
Plebeios, ratio ut reddatur iusta petenti
Cum placet, illa sae populi salute, naq;*

53

Let those I say your gracious fauour find,
Which vnto your parents haue beene kind,
For reason saith that they that haue beene true
To them, the like they will performe to you :
Such as by age are made vncruiceable,
Bestow on them rewardes most honorable.

54

Loue, trust, reward, and still to those be kind,
Which to your parents bare a faithfull mind;
Whome parents earst did hate for treacherie,
In them repose you no fidelitie,
And him that to your parents was vnkind,
Trust not, least that the like in him you find.

55

Of courtiers flattering baits in time beware,
A stayne vnto your court such Gnathoes are,
An haynous vice condemn'd of ech degree,
From which see that your Princely house be free,
A vice that noble Princes bringes to woe,
And stately kingdomes great doth ouerthrow.

56

Receuers of your rentes, and of your fee,
Chooſe honest men, and those of meane degree,
That when a reckoning iust you shall demand,
None dare attempt your biddings to withstand,
Thus shall you free your person from debate,
And worke the surety of your royall state.

45
Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

57
Peregrinus, nec sit à consilijs, nec
gerat honores.

*Non à consilijs tibi sit peregrinus, honores
Nec gerat illustres, tibi ne inuidatur & illis;
Indigenas igitur quos rebus rite gerendis
Praeficias, tibi summe, viros gravitate verendos.*

58
Servi regij ex nobilioribus
sint.

*Stemmata praeclaro natos tibi delige servos,
Hi servire tibi presto sint omnibus horis,
Sic etenim firmos tibi consiliabitis amorem,
Invidia minimorum; virtus comitatur honores.*

59
Regis praecepta diligenter obser-
vent aulici.

*Luceat in famulis sacra virtutis imago
Plebis in exemplar, struereq; domesticus omnis
Qualibet observat, quae in praeceptis ipso:
Nam violata domi, passim violanda videntur.*

60
Aulicus regis sui legibus non obtemperans
graviore poena plectatur.

*Aulicus in leges peccans, sua crimina quavis
Supplicio graviore laet, quam raris alumnus
Nec tua quod charum suffulcit gratio fetum,
Cum premis insontes tibi comminere licebit.*

Ora Princes direction. 2. Book.

57

No stranger borne in stately office set,
 For that be sure will daily hatred get,
 And cause your countrie men with spightfull mind,
 Both you and him to hate against their kind,
 Wherefore your inborne men for counsaill chuse,
 As fitting best, but forreyners refuse.

58

That scruaunts be of noble stemme descended,
 Of whome you purpose still to be attended
 Take chief delight, for that shall worke good will,
 And enuie drowne, and procure lastie still,
 And yet one profit more you shall purchase,
 That vertue is conioynd with noble race.

59

Take narrow view that courtiers doe obserue,
 Your lawes decreed, take heed they doe not stray,
 For how can lawes a broad be duly kept,
 When as your household trayne doe them neglect?

60

When courtiers doe against your lawes offend,
 Your punishment to them doe more extend,
 Then to the vulgar sort, by open wrong,
 As though by you they thought their causes strong;
 Your subiectes poore let none of them oppresse,
 But strue your selfe such wronges for to redresse.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

61

Quomodo rex erga aulicos suos
se gerat.

*Esto humilis, rigidusq; tuis, ut quisq; meretur,
Sit tibi pestis atrox, gladiator, litis amator.
Præditus ingenio facili, vacuusq; malignæ
Fraudis, ad eximios prope te sistatur honores.*

62

Rex non patiatur seruos suos interesse
aliorum litibus

*Non patiare tuos sese interponere duris
Litibus alterius, quamuis sit charus amicus,
Nam quia rex iustus index est, omnibus æquus,
Cur comitentur eum consilio litis amantes?*

63

Regis famuli morigeros se
præbeant.

*Morigeros discant tibi se præbere ministri,
Nec sum hos adigat nimium argescere fastus;
Vtq; tibi famulum licet amandare scelestum,
Sic veteres (nisi causa patet iustissima) serues.*

64

Serui quomodo tra-
standi.

*Munere vel pena serua, ut quisq; mereatur,
Affice, sic rebus tibi delige quævis, garentis
Vt sua dexteritas patitur, non singula creda
Vni, ne tumidum recada, atq; perosum.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

61

Both strange and homely with your seruants be,
 As you perceauce ech mans desertes agree,
 A man that is a quarreller detest,
 And count him in your courte a deadly peste,
 Preferre to roomes next to your person those,
 That will refuse your secretes to disclose.

62

Permit not any of your howshould trayne,
 The causes of their kindred to maintaine,
 But if they will their quarrells needes defend,
 Away from courtly office let them wend,
 For since you ought to good men to be iust,
 No factious seruauntes sure maintaine you must.

63

Let seruants learne obedience to your will,
 Not leaning much vnto their wittes or skill,
 And as offences great when they haue made,
 You may chastice, and iustly them disgrace,
 So seeke not them to chaunge at euery yeare,
 Vnlesse apparent cause there doe appeare.

64

As seruauntes doe deserue, reward them soe,
 With honours, giftes, with punishmentes also,
 Employ ech man in order in his place,
 As nature hath him deckt with giftes of grace,
 But yse not one in euery thinge, least pride
 Infect, and he of others be enuied,

Quales

Lib.2. Speculum Principis:

Quales serui diligendi.

*Simplex & fucō vacuus charissimus esto,
Non degat clara malus obireclator in aula;
Nam rixas litesq; creat: sed præcipe seruis,
Seu fratres, tibi qui famulantur, mutuo amare.*

Concordia fouetur.

*Ædibus alma tuis habeat concordia sedem,
Exulet & stygijs linor rabiosus in antris,
Hanc & in exilium comitetur fastus oportet,
Defendas humiles, patris reprimasq; superbas.*

Omnia pulchro ordine disponenda.

*Sic sibi conueniat res quaq; domestica pulchro
Ordine: sic externi admirabuntur acumen
Ingenij, rerum laudabilis ordo tuarum
Si nitet, & seruos serie moderare decora.*

Coniugium res optima, aut pessima.

*Coningio nihil est mortale beatius unquam,
Aut contra: ut domino visum est decernere ab aliis
A cuius solo pendent falicia nutu,
Sis igitur cantus delectum coniugis ipse.*

Who

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

65

Who plainely deales abhorring flattering lyes,
 Loue him the best, who will not truth disguises;
 Such as backbite with flaunderous mouthes most vile,
 Those whome they deadly hate, from court exile,
 Commaund all those to loue as breethren deare,
 Whome you maintaine about your person neere.

66

Peace in your royall courte keepe, and maintaine,
 Enuie expell out of your noble trayne,
 Let modestie find fauour loue and grace,
 Let insolencie haue noe resting place,
 Humilitie let growe, defend, and saue,
 But pride repressse with countnaunce sterne and graue.

67

Such orders braue and decent in their kind,
 In seruice for your person be assignd,
 That strangers when they doe to court aspire
 With Shebaes Queene your wisdom may admire,
 When they such orders in your seruants see,
 And in your house such royall maiestie.

68

The greatest weale or woe here in this life,
 That man befalls, is mariage of his wife,
 Which thing man in his power doth not possesse,
 But as it pleaseth God to curse or blesse;
 To marriage then your selfe wisely prepare,
 And in your choise haue still a speciall care.

H I

Coniugine

51
Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

69
Coniugium castitas præ-
cedat.

*Calebs ante sacrum thalami quam fœdus inibis
Illicita Veneris sectari gaudia sperne;
Stuprum inquam fugito, rabido cane peius & angue,
Et cautè castum corpus servare memento.*

70
Stuprum leue peccatum non
æstimandum.

*Exigni quamuis peccatum ponderis esse
Maxima pars stuprum credit, tamen ipse memento.
Non ita censendum nobis, ut censet iniquum
De vitio vulgus, sed lex ut indicat ipsa.*

71
Tres præcipui fines con-
iugij.

*Coniugij fines suscepti respice ternos,
Ut mala lethiferi fugias contagia stupri,
Ut tibi contingat proles generosa parenti,
Mutua ut aduersis cedant solatia rebus.*

72
Vxor ad sobolem procreandam
inepta non ducenda.

*Nec tamen uxorem regali dote coactam,
Natura vitio, tremula aut prohibente senecta,
Non aptam soboli generanda duxeris; isto
Namq; tibi pactonescas, populiq; saluti.*

52
or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

69
To mariage that you may prepare aright,
From fleshlie lustes abstaine with all your might,
Your bodie let noe whoredome foule deflower,
Vntill your louing wife thereof haue power,
All burning lustes warely you must expell,
And chastitie see that therein doe dwell.

70
Though some of whoredome lightly doe esteeme,
A tryfeling sinne, and veniall doe it deeme,
Yet must you iudge ech slippe and error smale,
Which God condemnes by lawe, and sinnes doth call,
Not as the world doth iudge most voide of awe,
But as the lord, who first did make the lawe.

71
In mariage choyse respect the causes three,
For which it was ordain'd from God on high,
First to auoide foule filthie fornication,
And next for childrens godly procreation,
And last for mutuall ioy and helpe indeede,
That each of other had in time of neede.

72
For douries great, or glittering beauties grace,
For wealth that rules almost in euery place,
Take not a wife, by natures want, nor yet
By fading yeares for childrens birth vnfit,
For this a double trespasse in a king,
Both for his owne, and peoples weale would bring.

53
Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

73
Tres inferiores coniugij
fines.

*Coniugis affines, dotem, formamq, venustam
Respice, magna dei sunt munera (crede) putanda,
Dummo ad præcipuo ponas tria prima, secundo
Ista loco primis qua subseruire videntur.*

74
Qualis vxor non ducen-
da.

*Nec tibi tu sociam vinclo coniunge ingali
Quæ bene non teneris fuit informata sub annis,
Moribus aut prauis; mulierem namq, marito
Solamen, deus esse dedit, non esse molestam.*

75
Incommoda vxoris à marito in religione
dissentientis.

*Religione tibi tua ne dissentiat vxor
Quam sis ducturus, gravis hinc discordia manas,
Hinc tibi suspitio, tua ne contiscat iniqua
Progenies, primis prauè informata sub annis.*

76
Inter omnia huius vitæ negotia coniu-
gium maximi momenti.

*Inter cuncta tue suscepta negotia vite
Vix vllum maius, vix excellentius vllum
Coniugio inuenies, ergo longè inferiorem
Connubio ne iunge tibi, ne fabula fias.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

73

Both freindes and dowries great, and beautes glee,
 Somewhat in mariage must respected be,
 So that the causes principall before
 Exprest, of you regarded be the more,
 And these set you in rancke, or second place,
 As waiting maides, the first some what to grace.

74

You shall not take in marriage bond a wife,
 Of knowne conditions vile, or vicious life,
 Who hath not beene in vertues schoole vptrain'd,
 But from her tender youth with vices stain'd,
 For woman was ordain'd from God on high,
 A helpe to man, and not a crosse to be.

75

A chiefe regard vnto your selfe propound,
 To marrie one in Christes religion sound,
 For if therein from you she shall dissent,
 Great iarres thereof may rise and discontent,
 Besides the dangers great, and deprauation,
 That followes of your childrens education.

76

Remember this imprinted well in mind,
 That hardly any action shall you find,
 Of greater counte, nor weight in all your life,
 Then is the choise and marriage of your wife;
 And if you match farre vnder your degre,
 Of lesse account then after shall you be.

551
Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

77
Fides inuiolatè in coniugio
seruanda.

*Inviolata fides maneat data, mente benigna
Uxorem tractes, caro sit tua propria, mandes
Vt dominus, fer opem, moderare, foveq̃,
Quæ sua sunt tractes, sed non aliena sequantur.*

78
Regulæ cum vxore
seruandæ.

*Imperet illa domi, sed publica nulla capeſſat,
Fac caſtos habeat comites, quia femina ſexus
Eſt fragilis, facili ferturq̃, ad crimina motu,
Dum furor hanc agitat, proprium compeſce furorẽ.*

79
Liberi quomodo edu-
candi:

*Nec tibi cura lenis puerorum mentibus alma
Inſerere à teneris virtutis ſemina, quantum
Diligis ignorent, patrem reuerenter adorent,
Et vero (ut natos decet) amplectantur amore.*

80
Legitimus nulla cauſa reiiciendus
eſt hæres.

*Si tibi nulla datur ſoboles optata parenti,
Legitimum tamen heredem fraudare putato
Eſſe nefas, pretij quamvis tibi vilis habetur,
Namq̃, dei ſolum eſt diſponere regna ſupremi.*

or a Princes direction. .2 Book.

77

When marriage knot is knit, your promise past,
To God performe, while vitall breath doth last,
As flesh of flesh and bone of bone her vse,
Commaund her as her lord, doe not refuse
To cherish, helpe, and please her still; but teach
Her things to leaue that are about her reach.

78

Permit not wife in any case to deale,
With gouernement of state or common weale,
With priuat rule of house acquaint her well,
Let chaste and honest mates aboute her dwell,
When angrie passions doe her mind torment,
Let youres be qualified with sweete content.

79

Be carefull that your children deare may be
In vertues schoole trayn'd vp from vices free,
Howe deare they are to you let them not know,
Vnlesse their nature kind require it soe;
Teach them a dutifull obedience,
Teach them your selfe to loue and reuerence.

80

If that you haue no issue to succede,
Your regall crowne to weare, then take good heede,
The rightfull heire you doe not dispossesse,
Though you mislike his person more or lesse,
For kings of kingdomes may not here dispose,
But god aboute which best succession knowes.

Vita

57
Lib.2. Speculum Principis:

81
Vita regis qualis esse
debeat.

*Subiectis velut aula tuis, virtutis imago est,
Sic sancta speculum pietatis vita ministris
Sit tua, sit lumen sua quod vestigia spissis
Dirigat in tenebris virtutis scandere colles.*

82
In rebus omnibus adhibenda
est moderatio.

*Non solum ut tumidos possis compescere mentis
Affectus, sed iustitia cum munera sacra
Suscipis, egregius tibi dux moderatio fiat,
Hac sine iustitia est aliquando facta tyrannis.*

83
Leges quorsum condi-
tae.

*Condita sincera lex est ut regula vite,
Connictusq; sacris, sed non ut rete, probatos
Illaqueans cines ad publica damna, tenendus
Ergo sensus eris, non litera nuda sequenda.*

84
Multa legenda, sed quando, &
quorsum.

*Multa legas, multum quo possis scire, sed apto
Tempore, ne regni graviora negotia forsan
Impedias, nec tu meditando theoreticus esto,
Practicus ac praestes bona qua conducere noris.*

A

or a Princes direction. .2 Book.

81

Euen as your court example ought to be,
 Of vertuous life in euery subiectes eie,
 So should your person be a lampe most bright,
 Vnto your household seruants giuing light,
 That they your vertues rare beholding, may
 Both rightly chuse, and hold in vertuous waie.

82

Not only in your headstrong passions,
 But in your weightiest vertuous actions,
 Let moderation be your guide and stay,
 For why, a right your scepter she will sway,
 On iustice seat chuse her to be your guide,
 Least iustice els to tyrannie doe slide.

83

The lawes are made as rules of vertuous life,
 Of social entercourse, but not of strife,
 Nay yet as snares whereby your subiectes may,
 Intrapped be vnto their great decay;
 Therefore expound them as the sense will beare,
 Not as the letter soundeth to the care.

84

In reading much that knowledge you may find,
 In ech good thing delight your busie mind,
 Yet times appoint that hindrance may not bring
 To regall charge, and euery godly thing
 In practise put in life, and conuersation,
 Read not for curious ostentation.

I i

Proxime

Lib.2. Speculum Principis:

Proxime post sacras scripturas, oportet regem leges à se conditas reuoluere.

*Crebrius (ut moneo) scripturas perlege sacras,
Post, granibus legum studiis incumbere tuarum,
Que fiant plana, methodo breviora polita,
Causidico ne plaudenti plebs indiga ploret.*

Oportet ipsum regem aliquando adesse iudicijs.

*Propria consuetum deceret persona tribunal,
Impia funestam subeat largitio panam,
Et tua patronos adigat presentia duros
Tristia mox longa componere praelia litis.*

Iudicij sedes non regis, sed domini est.

*Ruminet hoc animus (mi fili) quod tua sedes
Non tuus, at domini thronus est, fac illius ergo
Non fauor ad dextram rapiat, non ulio lenam
Iudicis officio fungens: sua redde cuiq[ue].*

Sedeat rex inter apocletos suos.

*Inter apocletos sit consuetudo sedere,
Non ibi causidicus causas dilatat, at ille
Sic tibi displiceat, pro se sine quisq[ue] loquatur,
Auscultatio preces affolli, aut abijce sceptrum.*

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

Next sacred writte it standes you most in hand,
Your countries lawes to read and vnderstand,
Abridge them to a brieffe, yet make them plaine,
For ouer tedious lawes breede lawyers gayne,
Whereby to honours high themselues doe growe,
By pooremens wofull spoyle and ouerthrowe.

Delight to Sessions dulie to repaire,
What there is done obserue with speciall care,
Let none take bribes without due punishment,
And let your presence helpe the innocent,
Their causes to dispatch with lawfull speede,
Who crossed by the rich cannot proceede.

Remember when thou sittest in iudgment throne,
That seate is Gods on high, and not your owne,
No fauour there, nor loue, no powerfull might,
Of worldlings great let moue you from the right,
There are you set for iustice sake alone,
And iustice truly giues ech man his owne.

Your priue counsaile table much frequent,
Let lawyers iustlie thence away be sent,
Who causes seeke to linger and prolong,
Let ech mans mouth vnfold his proper wrongs;
Faynt not the poore afflicted wretch to heare,
Vnworthie els you are a crowne to beare.

Lib. 2. *Speculum Principis*

89

Lectio chronicorum & eorundem
usus.

*Periucunda tuam delectet lectio mentem,
Gestorum veterum chronicis sudato tuorum;
Nempe exempla docent si sit collatio facta,
Sic cum legatis melius tua verba struentur.*

90

Non nimium artibus ingenuis regi
studendum.

*Artibus ingenuis operam nauare memento,
Sic tamen his palmam ut tibi speres inde petendam,
Non eris intentus, sic namq; negotia regni
Grandæ contemnes studiorum pondere pressus.*

91

Non se vindicare regis est
laus.

*Verè magnanimus, vindicta nescius esto,
Irasci cuius, fac dedigneris & hosti,
Passio non vincat, succumbat passio regi,
Vt soleas alijs ignoscere maxima laus est.*

92

In rege humilitas fouen-
da.

*Exulet ex animo ventosa superbia duro,
Hoc tibi cum reliquis posito discrimine solo,
Munus obis magnum, regalia sceptræ gubernans,
Idq; dei dono, similis tibi cætera vulgus.*

Read

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

89

Read auncient chronicles with diligence,
From thence theoricall experience,
Shall flowe, if by past things you doe apphe,
To present time and state most prudently;
This still with forreyners shall you enforce,
Of their estates with fulness to discourse.

09

In liberall artes your selfe to exercise,
And reasonably conuerse I you aduise,
Yet presse you not by paines too curiously,
In any one a passe-master to be,
Least whilst the Artes you doe too much respect,
Th' affaires of state you carelessly neglect.

19

Embrace from heart true magnanimitie,
Not by reuenge, or fierce hostilitie,
But thinke the partie who offends your mind,
Not worth your wrath, a conquest this I find;
Your passions ouerrule and them perswade,
To pardon crimes against your highnes made.

29

Embrace humilitie, and banish prid,
Within your heart let not this sinne abide,
Neyther towards God your lord, nor parents kind,
Considering this most iustly in your mind,
That from the vulgar sort both poore and base,
You differ not in stufte, but only place.

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

93

Mater honore prosequenda.

*Si me defuncto fuerit regina superstes,
 Quae mihi te prolem peperit letissima mater,
 Hanc faneas, redames, hanc tu reuerenter adornes,
 Inq̃, throno ad dextram tanquam Bersheba locetur.*

94

Parentes & qui illorum vices
 suppleant sunt honorandi.

*Ipse preces gratas fac promereare parentum,
 Hos cole, quiq̃, vices illorum aut munera suppleant,
 Nempe magistratus, tutores, gratior illis
 Plurima donabis, regali premia dextra.*

95

Rex sit clemens, & ubi res tulerit
 seuerus.

*Regia ventosum contemnant pectora fastum,
 Splendida quin humiles ornent diademata gestus,
 Sic tamen ut durus si regnis forte quis extet
 Oppressor, videat torua te fronte tuentem.*

96

Regem oportet esse constantem, & invicti
 animi aduersus omne malum.

*Non solum verè sis constans inter honestos,
 Ast cum te cruciant fortune tela seueræ,
 Grandia nulla tuam pessundent sic mala mentem,
 Ut nequeas uti medijs quibus illa fugantur.*

Ora Princes direction. 2. Book.

93

If that my noble Queene by Gods decree,
 Shall me suruiue, as you desire of me
 A blessing due from parent to his child,
 Comfort, loue, reuerence your mother mild,
 Set her like Bersheba on a throne,
 Offend her not, nor force her once to moane.

94

Giue parents honour due, and strue you may
 Their blessing haue by iust desert alway,
 And next to them you may not here neglect,
 Those which from youth your person did protect,
 As Tutors, guides, and gouernours, whose paines
 Requite, for honour to yourselfe it gaines.

95

True humblenes both foster and maintaine,
 Exiling from your thoughtes pride and disdaine,
 But let not humblenes so farre proceede,
 To hinder irefull wrath in time of neede,
 But when oppressours great appeare in place,
 Then frowne on such, it is your greatest grace.

96

Your constancie appeares not only then,
 When kind yourselfe you shew to honest men,
 But when you can all worldly crosses beare,
 With patient mind, and in your crosses feare
 No whit, to take the nearest course that may,
 Your woes redresse, and bring the safest way.

Regem

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis :

97

Regem decet esse munificum, præsertim erga
benemeritos.

*Dapsilis esto bonis ut honos tuus exigit, utq;
Posse datur, semper posito discrimine: quemvis
Ut decoret donis regalibus, ut sua virtus,
Ut doctes anima clare, meritumq; requirunt.*

98

Regia liberalitas non ad sui ipsius, nec ad suc-
cessorum suorum damnum se extendat.

*Sis frugi, & temerè noli dispergere parva,
Prædia præcipue tua regia, quæ satis amplius
Suppeditant sumptusq; tibi, atq; nepotibus olim.
Prodigius hoc faciens, non dapsilis esse videris.*

99

Rex subditorum suorum opibus
non ditescat,

*Noli te census populi ditare tributis,
Publica thesauros reputabis commoda magnos
Esse tibi, pendat nec vectigalia vulgus
Ne fera vis belli, vel seria causa repositat.*

100

Inter falsos, & veros distin-
guendum.

*Si quis rumores falsos disseminat, ipse
Quid diffamati profunt huic damna require,
Tunc bene propositum spargentis ficta, deinde
Vitam accusati prius actam rite notabis.*

Reward

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

97

Reward all honest men with liberall hand,
As with your honour high, and weale may stand,
But here you must discerne with good discretion,
That ech man haue his due proportion,
And here obserue that euery person haue,
As place, as iust desert, and neede shall craue.

98

Provide to haue, but needeles nothing wast,
The old reuenues of your crowne forecast,
For all your liberall giftes still to retaine,
By which you may your selfe and yours maintaine,
Least otherwise your bounteous liberalitie
To your decay be turn'd to prodigalitie.

99

Let not exactions rais'd from subiectes poore,
Your cooffers fill, or els encrease your store,
Your subiectes wealth account your treasure best,
No subsidies demaund, vnlesse opprest
By warres, or needefull cause; the money soe
Exacted, on his lawfull end bestowe.

100

Discerne a right twixt false reportes and true,
The nature of the Author rightly view,
What interest he hath in that mans woe,
Or waile, whome he to you accuseth soe,
Then scanne the truth, and lastly see you trie,
Th' accused parties life led formerly.

K 1

Delatores

Lib. 2. Speculum Principis:

101

Delatores rejicien.

*Delator blanda sperans sibi premia lingua
Exulet, & quamvis taciturna silentia regi
Sint opus, at praestant amore exquirere sparsum,
Quam damnata bonum tacite nil tale merentem.*

102

Non cito damnandus est, qui prius

*Cuius vita nigro nondum carbone notata est
Agré diffidas, (quamvis mala fama reclamet)
At quorum sceleris remanent vestigia tetri,
His prius expertus credas minus ipse necesse est*

103

Regis variae & multiplices virtutes plebi
exemplo esse debent.

*Quantum praeluces claro diademate plebi,
Fac tantum praestet tua vita innoxia, tandem
Ut virtus habitu speciosa acquirat agendo
Qua decet, & veluti vulgus decreta legendo
Regia sit sapiens, sacra & virtutis alumnus:
Sic te conspiciens vite pietate vagantem,
Noxia pellentem, vestigia certa sequatur
Mox tua, quae summus ducens virtutis in arcem*

Finis Libri Secundi.

Exclude

or a Princes direction. 2. Book.

101

Exclude vaine tatlers from your companie,
 And though a prince of faithfull secrecie,
 Hath often neede, yet better is to trie,
 Reportes, then by too light credulitie,
 Within your heart suspicion to retayne,
 Against a man whose life no vices staine.

102

Mistrust no man whose name hath pure bin found
 From heinous crimes, though fame against him sound;
 But such as haue in former times bin tainted
 With vile and filthie practises acquainted,
 By wise foresight their wily sleights preuent,
 Least afterwards too late you doe repent.

103

As in your royall state, so seeke to shine
 Before your subiectes all in life diuine,
 That vertue pure may take by frequent action,
 An habit firme in times proceSSION,
 And as by hearing of your lawes decreed,
 Your subiectes may to obedience proceed,
 So when they see your vertues rare exprest,
 Both eares and eies may teach them what is best,
 And them allure your vertues t' imitate,
 And likewise vices hartely to hate.

The end of the second book.

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

¹
Regis gestus in externis, & medijs rebus
qualis esse debeat.

T Alis in externis existat gestio rebus,
Talis & in medijs, ut te vel Zoylus ipse
Internis animi bene cernat dotibus alumnus,
Tantus es in regno, quantum tua practica praestant.

²
Decet regem publicè, (raro priuatim)
comedere, & quare.

Mensa tibi raro priuata, frequentius esto
Publica, conspectum populi spreuisse Tyranni est,
Fac caueas isto ne sis carbone notatus,
Aut hoc, te genio nimis indulcisse gulosi est.

³
Sit regi prandenti apparatus magnificus,
passus vero modicus.

Sit tibi prandenti sumptus regalis, & ordo,
Farcula magnates apponant laeta ministri,
Omnia ne gustes, paucis contentus abito,
Nam decet hoc regem, sobrium nec dedecus illud.

⁴
Qualibus praesertim cibus rex
vescatur.

Aurea saepe ferant plebeia cibaria vasa,
Ne pigeat crassas carnes comedisse salubres:
Aptius ad Acherontem sic reddas corpus, ineptus
Es conuina tuis aliter merentibus exies.

Or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

I

That all your vertues rare, which inwardly do grow
In secret seate of mind enstald, may shewe
Themselves apparantly to ech mans eie,
Let all your actions flowing outwardly,
In things that be meerey indiferent,
To vertues rule be still equiualent.

2

In open sight take most of your repast,
So name of odious tyrant shie thou maist,
For rare in sight shewes hate of companie,
Of old adiudgd a marck of tyrannie,
Or els of gurmardize, asha'md to eate,
(A gloutions note) before your nobles great.

3

Let royall service fitting regall state
Your table furnish, bafe attendance hate,
But let few dishes well your selfe suffice
Which wholesome are and freest from all surmise,
Of delicacies amongst true soberlings,
Deem'd high disgrace is glouttonie in kinges.

4

Let stomach learne grosse meates for to digest,
Eate common foode with double reason prest:
First that your bodie durable and strong,
May proue t' endure your martiall peeres among,
Then to inure your selfe with subiectes cheere,
Whereby your welcome shalbe hartie there.

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

5

**Optimum condimentum
fames.**

*Esto fames condimento tibi paria labore,
Scribita ne placeat, vel quod componitur ullum,
Romanis olim inuisum genus hocce ciborum,
Vnum sit simplex omnis medicaminis expert.*

6

**Liberalior pastus, & potus
regem dedecent.**

*Largior humanos obtundit pastio sensus,
Precipue Bacchi procul absit plurimus usus,
Non decet hoc regem, tu mores inter edendum
Fas Cynicos fugias, nimium non ipse pitissos.*

7

**Inter edendum res aliæ seriæ sunt
deponendæ.**

*Seria ne peragas comedens, nec pectore tristia
Sis nimis, ast hilari vultu, simul ore faceto.
Fabula lecta iunat, frontemq; extendere cogit,
Aut si sermones resperfi sunt sale dulci.*

8

**Quies quomodo capienda sit
regi.**

*Languida tranquilla capiantur membra quies,
Nec tamen hac nimia, semper lanugine strata,
Tempore nec certo, saltem te belligerante,
Es cibui, & potui, concedant omnia rebus.*

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

5

Let hunger sauce your palate helpe to please,
And simples not compoundes yott best appease,
Th' auncient Romans wise did such detest,
Of all sauces accounting hunger best,
The filthie wish of cranye cragge desie,
Lest you partake Philoxens infamy.

6

In banquetting se you abhorre excesse,
Let not Bacchus sweet iuice your brains oppres,
Then dronkennes what worse vice in a king?
Grosse cynick eating count a lothsome thing,
Coy nicenes shunne, a daintie dames delight,
But roundlie feede and with a mauly spright.

7

Dipatch n' affayres whilst you at meate doe sit,
Both time, and place for weightie things vnfit,
Nor pensue be but of a mery cheare,
What ere betalles; then ioyfully appeare,
Let pleasant histories your mind solace,
So profit with your pleasures shall haue place,

8

Yeld not to much to droosie Morpheus bayte,
Nor downie pillowes let your head awayte
Alwaies, nor alwaies certaine howers doe keepe,
Accommodat your meat, your drinck, your sleep
To your affayres, as busines command,
But chiefly then, when warres you haue in hand.

Pra-

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

9

Præceptum octavum de quiete regis,
 aliter hic versum.

*In somno atq; cibo, quanquam stata tempora regi
 Sunt servanda, tamen hæc disponere discas,
 Ut possis facile, si res ita postulet, horas
 Corpore non laeso cum vitare statuas.*

10

Ministri & satellites regis in cubiculo suo
 sint pauci, iidemq; fidissimi.

*Dum dormia pateant nocturna cubilia paucis
 Quorum fama, fides, minima vel labe nigressit,
 Et secreta quibus possis committere tuto,
 Tales secreto peragant tua iussa cubili.*

11

Vestitus regis qualis esse
 debeat.

*Non preciosa tibi, non vestimenta placebunt
 Vilia, nec Coridon, nec semper conchyliatus,
 Elige quod medium est, & eris virtutis alumnus,
 Rustica nec regem, nimium nec compta decēbant.*

12

De regis vesti-
 tu.

*Vestes sint nitida, nec multum respice formam,
 Nunc paludati speciem, nec habeto togati,
 Inter utramq; manere reputes cur insistantur,
 Ut decus, ut scutum fierent, ne nudus & esses.*

Although

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

9

Although times ordinarie for your sleepe,
And sustenance at meales you ought to keepe,
Yet so dispose of dyet, and of rest,
That times may changed be as seemeth best,
When great affayres of state are ordred right,
You may your selfe refresh by day or night.

10

Let not the place appointed for your rest,
Be too much throngd, for that is not the best,
Let them be trustie, secret, and full deare,
Who in your chamber serue your person neare,
Let not your dreames what euer they seeme to be,
Molest your mind for that vere vanitie.

11

In your attire be not superfluous,
Obserue a meane for that is vertuous,
Be not to base like caytiffe conetous,
Be not like curtizant too curious,
Nor clownish Coridon, nor vaine courtier
Do imitate, nor yet graue minister.

12

In garments vse be cleane, and eke decent,
Hansome in forme, for fashions negligent,
Regarding th' ends why God did clothes ordaine,
First for to couer nakednesse our stayne,
And secondly our comelines to show,
And last to harbour vs from weathers wee.

L 1

De

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

13

De vestimento

neo.

Temporibus varijs bene quaderet amictus, & annis,
Tuq; novos habitus muliebres effuge saltem,
Iudicio populi lenis est ibymiamata malus,
Oris & ornati splendorum praeliamarrent.

14

De comarum & vnguium

abvfu.

Est ornamentum capiti coma, de decus ingens
Humanis humeris, nisi male Errone haberi:
Sic vngues digiti, hoc excrementa fouere
Vindictis, aut vana naturam monstrat: abhorre.

15

Quibus armis in aula regali

vni conuenit.

Non gerat arma domi bello magis apta cruento.
Sen quibus aduersos telus contendat in hostes.
Sen quibus enadas letibali tuius ab illis
Aulicus, esto satis pugio, satis ensis, & illi.

16

Quale sermonis genus regi

conuenit.

Colloquio planius sit sermo, decoro, honestus
Clarus, & ille brevis, gravitate, & acumen mistus.
Sires permittat, placidus, cor posse lacertis
Elogijs quoenquam dulcis seculi esse notandum.

or a *Princes direction.* .3 Book.

13

Be futed like to season and your age,
 Youthlike in youth, in grauer yeares more sage,
 Vse most the common forme, now rich attire,
 And sometimes meaner as affayres require,
 Toosweete perfumd in garments delicate.
 Bewraies the mind to be effeminate.

14

Long haire, nor nailes your feature let disguise,
 As if from hellish furies vp you did rise,
 These are but excrements of nature, then
 To bragge of these it shewes but foolish men,
 Th' abuse of these shewes a vindictiue braine,
 The authors eke to be but light and vaine.

15

Accustome not your men in court to beare,
 Such armour as in warre is fit to weare,
 All gunnes & pistolles farre from howsehould traine,
 For publique vse, and needefull shewes maintaine,
 But armour worne in court let knightly be,
 As daggar, rapier, sword in due degre.

16

Let speach be short, sententious, and plaine,
 Without reproofe, honest, comely and cleane,
 According to the subiect, time, and place,
 With grauitie, quicknesse, and mirth doth grace,
 Spare both quippes and tauntes in theologie,
 In drincking companie especially.

L 2

Gestus

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

17

Gestus regis qua-

lis

*Nec stultus simplex, gestus nec mobilis esse,
Ut mos gentis erit, causas solio graviora
Legatosq; audi, sed maiestate verenda,
Esto tuis humilis, sed formidabilis hosti.*

18

Si rex aliquid fortasse sit scripturus, ne
tibi in eo nimium placeat.

*Si tibi Pierides faueant ut opuscula scribas,
Non tua, seu dominum casuli per dextras iller,
Scripta legant docti, sed sapiens ipse renise,
Quam videant alij: nescit vox missa reueri.*

19

De quali argumento, seu subiecto regem
scribere decet.

*Si cupias clarum scribendo acquirere nomen,
Elige scriptorum subiectum principe dignum,
Ludicra pelle, tuis complectere seria scriptis,
Non ea sine densis consilio effusa ronebris.*

20

Quales corporeæ exercitationes regi
maxime conveniant.

*Talia defessam recreant per lacina mentem,
Qualia corporea proferunt experia solati,
Ista inuant variis prosterunt otia mures,
Exaugent, faciunt corpus vel ad prælia promptum.*

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

17

Let not vnsciled gestures you delight,
But manly, graue, after your countries rite,
Maiestick, besitting a iudgment seate,
Or when with legates straung you sit to treat;
In priuate homely, and at pastimes merie,
Couragious in warres, daunting th' enemye.

18

If that you doe your wittes thereto dispose,
Ought for to write either in verse or prose,
Soath not your selfe, nor publish that I say,
Till learned censure doe it throughly way,
Often reui'd no losse it can sustayne,
Once published cannot be cald againe.

19

If worthie praise you meane some work t' indite,
A subiect chuse fit for a prince to write,
With vertue fraught, farre from all vanitie,
Nor purposely affect obscurity,
But still delight and strue for to be plain,
That to the sense the reader may attayne.

20

Addict your selfe to exercise such sport,
As health maintaines, and members doth comfort,
Its commendable for double respect,
For first it helpea greatly for to reiect
Base idlenes, and secondly to make
Your bodie fit hard labours t' vndertake.

L 3

Certamina

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis :

21

Certamina villis & salubria corpori.

*Spheristeriam ad rard cursum, atq; palestra,
Aut gladiatura, saltu, celerique sagitta
Parcius utaris, sed equos domitando feroces
Prestabis cunctis, quid enim regalius istot*

22

De venatio- ne.

*Ipse sequare canes, ceruus solentur & illi,
Sic belli speciem videas, venatio bellum est.
Dignior aucupio, valles montesq; veredas
Transvolet, hinc durus fies calcaribus acer.*

23

Modus in corporis exercitationibus est adhibendus.

*Aurea perpetuos mensuros regula iussus,
Nec nimis, hoc vitium est, rerum memor esto, nec isti
Te multum, teneant, sed alacrior inde redire
Ad quid prestandum, quo sum prestanda memento.*

24

Tesseris & pictis chartis quan- do utendum.

*Cum tibi nil restat foris, tota conlucet velle
Quod regi placeant tunc tesseris, pictisq; chartis,
Aut cum languescas studio, aut fatieris, & labor
Imbribus obsessus, sed delectet alia regem.*

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

21

Vse exercise, to runne, to leape, to daunce,
To wrastle, shoote, and play at tennise chaunce,
But sparingly : your speciall exercise,
Let be to ride, and often enterprife
To daunt great horses kept for warlike vse,
On horseback games to vse doe not refuse.

22

A noble game and full of honour count,
With runnig houndes on courser swift to mount,
Because this play semblance of warres displayes,
And makes men skild to ride all dangerous waies,
Hauking ile not commend, nor greatly praise,
A stirrer vp of passions alwaies.

23

Vse measure in your pleasant pastimes braue,
Loose not time that belongs to matters graue,
Let this remaine deepe fixed in your brest,
The endes for which pastimes were first addrest,
That they your regall charge might better ease,
And not the same to hinder or displease.

24

When nought remaines to doe, as seeld befall
Good kinges, or Muse is tir'd, or Body thrall
Now ill at ease, or heauens tempestes threate,
Your wittes at artes or tables then doe wheat,
But dicing yet I doe not you commaund,
Not meete for Prince, but deboshat souldiers hand.

Tria

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

25

Tria ludenti obseruan-

*Hec tria ludenti sunt obseruanda, putato
Perdere depositum, laxandi ludis causa,
Quantum conijcere pueris discrimen adito;
Lucrandum nihil est falsi, nec decipere iactu.*

26

**Quorum maxime consortium rex
effugere debet.**

*Probi sint comites, tibi, cum tu seras tractus,
Cum leniora facis, subdage te nomine lapsi,
Lasciuos calabis, mulierum spernito carnis,
Ad venerem stimulant, irritamenta malorum,*

27

**Barbaræ gentes ad exempla gentium bene
moratarum formandæ sunt.**

*Sedulus aduersas que gens urbanior extes,
Ad leges que sis propensior omnibus horis
Seruandas, operam dabis ut tua barbara regna
Exutis proprijs ornentur moribus illis.*

28

**Deus colendus ut prosperè cuncta
succeedant.**

*Depende à domino frangendo tu manere fausti
Sint tibi progressus, externis cunctis in usus
Integra vel toti placeant præcordia plebi,
Laceat in medijs rebus virtutis imago.*

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

25

Three rules obserue I counsaill you in play,
 Resolue to loose what you on stake doe lay,
 Nor hazard more then you would throwe to page,
 Thirdly play faire by falsehood get noe gage,
 Nor yet in iest false lying trickes doe vse,
 Those are not play, but greatest playes abuse.

26

Haue speciall care when play you doe intend,
 With men of honest name that time you spend,
 Shune those that vicious are, and filthie speech,
 That mixe with mirth: but chiefly I you teach,
 Haunte not lewd dames, before your marriage,
 Lustes they prouoke, and spoyle good cariage.

27

In regiment of kingdomes ponder well,
 What people most in ciuiltie excell,
 And easiest are to rule, and lawes obay,
 The ruder sort to ioyne to these assay,
 By faire allurements doe affect the same,
 That Britaynes all may haue one hart and name.

28

On God depend, to him be constant true,
 To blesse you in your office to him sue,
 By th'externe vse whereof let all men see,
 How th'inward heart is fraught with pietie,
 In things indiserent let your gesture shew,
 An image plaine of vertues decent hew.

M

Ira

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis:

29

Ira compescenda.

*Ira furor brevis est, nolito percitus ira
 Indicis officio fungi, sedatus at illud
 Aggredieris opus, sacro pectore clauso
 Hoc Pauli elogio, Sic irasceris ut insens.*

30

Vnusquisq; pro meritis suis remuneretur.

*Pro gestis palma meriti decorentur honore;
 Extollendo bonos stat maxima gloria regis,
 At caneas ne sit quisquam magis arduus aquo;
 Quisq; sui sceleris damnetur, nemo suorum.*

31

Virtute præditi amandi.

*Virtutis mensura tuum mensuret amorem,
 Quantula sit virtus, tua gratia tanta; quousq;
 Quis bonus est, faveas, post si sceleratior idem
 Enadat, scelus esse puta, fuisse scelesto.*

32

Vindicta (proximè post deum) ad regem solum pertinet.

*Aequior ad iustos spectat punitio reges,
 Nemo sui vindicæ sit damnum passus iniquus;
 Principis est gladius, privatus nemo feriret.
 Principis est populum, princeps modo vindicat illum.*

Remember

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

29

Remember well your passions to digest,
 Before you seeke great sutes to set at rest,
 For wrath short madnes is; doe nothing mad,
 Th' effectes whereof haue alwaies prooued bad,
 Th' Apostles rule chuse rather to obserue,
 Let anger none from Gods lawes make you swarue.

30

Gladly aduance the good and vertuous,
 With royall giftes that are most glorious,
 Yet see that none though noble, too high growe,
 Least stately kingdome thereby be brought lowe,
 Due punishment let wicked men still haue,
 For owne desertes not others, right doth craue.

31

To euerie one your loue so farre extend,
 As he himselfe to vertuous life doth bend,
 And let none longer haue your gracious fauour,
 Then he in vertuous deedes doth strue to labour,
 And fauour him where vertues doe increase,
 If vertues he forsake your loue let cease.

32

Permit no man to wreack his proper wrong
 Done vnto him, though he be great and strong;
 For so great wrong gainst you he should commit,
 Vsurping power for subiects farre vnfit,
 To king alone the sword doth appertaine,
 T' auendg his people which doe wrong sustaine.

M 2

Aliena

Lib. 3. Speculum Principis :

33

Aliena exempla & pericula prudentes docent.

*Te, (prudens dici si vis) aliena docente
Exempla: ut caueas moneant aliena pericla:
Ne te paniteat sero, respiscere sero
Est imprudentium, quos huc dementia adigit.*

34

**Rex secum semper cogitet quantum
onus humeris suis incumbat.**

*Hoc animo semper quantum sit munus habeto
Incumbens humeris, cuius perfunctio fida
Mente sit, hoc centro tibi ne quid aberret agendum,
Omnia centralium hanc contingant spicula metam.*

35

*Excellant alijs alijs, tua gloria summa
Esse tuos longum moderari pace Britannos.
Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbas,
Aeneas Anchises, Henrico sic pater eius.*

or a Princes direction. 3. Book.

33

Make others harmes examples good to be,
That you thereby may learne harmes for to flie,
Too late repentance by your triall made
Eschew: for that fooles scholmaister is said,
Wise shall you be if former you doe chuse,
But foolish sure if it you doe refuse.

34

Before your eies set still your greatest chardg.
The which be carefull well for to dischardg,
As principallest marck at which you shoote,
In all your deedes let not your mind hence flote,
And all other your actions see you make,
Helps to your greatest, this rule doe not forsake.

35

In other things let other men excell,
In your owne trade contend to beare the bell,
Which counsaill graue Anchises long agoe,
Gaue his Æneas when he went him froe,
The like to you my dearest sonne I geue,
Deface the proud, in peace doe rule, and liue.

Deo soli gloria.

Amen.

Certaine epithetes, and excellent

*titles wherewith Iulius Pollux, who was gouernour to
Emperour Commodus in his young yeares, set
forth and described the properties of a good
king, applied to the name of Henric
Fredericke the most noble
Prince of Wales.*

His knowledge must in making lawes excell,
Each one must easie accesse to him finde
No passions strong within his heart may dwell,
Right willing to do good with princely minde.
Iustice to all he must alike maintaine,
Exceeding affable to poorest swaine.

Prouiding things that bring his people gaines,
Readie to profit all of each degree,
Industrious, deuote to restless paines,
Noble in minde, from feare of fortune free;
Courteous in gesture to his subiects all,
Euer constant not tossing like a ball.

One and the same, not turning once aside,
Fraught with religion pure by scriptures tri'd.

With watchfull eie respecting subiects weale,
Affaires dispatching with conuenient speede,
Labouring for peace where discord doth preuaile;
Exceeding slowe to take reuenge indeed,
Skilfull in princely duties to proceed.

The author his vale to the young Prince Henrie.

*Farewell young impe of Brittish soyle the stay,
 Read, see, and tread your fathers chalked way,
 O how much then shall God vs in you blesse,
 Tongue, scroll, and quill, cannot the same expresse.
 Heire of your fathers crowne by natures course,
 Heire to his vertues these preceptes you force.
 Farre spread your roote and branches of your line,
 Long may they budd like stems of some faire vine,
 So shall our seede no lesse your fame adore,
 Then wee your parents names haue done before:
 O noble Prince pardon I pray the while,
 My bould attempt, harsh verse, and ruder stile.*